

long and distinguished life, Dr. Miguel Encinias always found ways to serve, and New Mexico and our Nation are better for it.

My wife Jill and I extend our sincere condolences to the Encinias family on the passing of Dr. Encinias. We honor his courage, we honor his service, and we mourn his loss with the family.

Thank you very much.

I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The senior assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. CORKER. Madam President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

SALE OF FIGHTER JETS TO PAKISTAN

Mr. CORKER. Madam President, I rise to speak about the discharge vote that will take place momentarily. I just want to say that I know that many people in our country and certainly in this body have significant frustrations with the country of Pakistan. This Senator is one of those. I have been to Afghanistan multiple times. I have visited Pakistan multiple times. Our relationship is one that is very complex. Certainly, Pakistan has been duplicitous in many ways with us relative to their relationship with the Taliban and with Al Qaeda and, certainly and most importantly, as it relates to this particular topic, the Haqqani network.

Our country has worked with them to clear out the FATA areas, the Federally Administered Tribal Areas. I think most of us have seen the work that has taken place there, and they have worked with us closely in that regard.

There still are issues undoubtedly that exist relative to their relationship with the Haqqani network, in particular, but also the Taliban. At the same time, there are negotiations that are underway that are very important to create a lasting peace in Afghanistan. Even though they play both sides of the fence—and I understand that—and even though we have concerns about their relationship with the Haqqani network, they do play a role relative to how those negotiations are taking place.

I have issues with them. I think everyone in the country of Pakistan by this point knows that I have issues with them, at least those who are paying attention to this issue.

What this discharge petition is about today is that it is voting to discharge something to the Senate floor so that there can be a vote on ending the allowance of a sale of some fighter jets. These will be U.S.-made fighter jets. In spite of some of the rhetoric around this, this has nothing to do with the potential subsidy that could take place by U.S. taxpayers.

This is about one thing. It is about whether we as a country would prefer

for Pakistan to buy American-made fighter jets or whether we would prefer for them to buy Russian jets or French jets. This is what this is about.

There are some issues that people have raised about potential subsidies for this. I know Senator CARDIN, who is on the floor right now, and myself both have a hold on that—a hold to ensure that there is some behavior changes that take place in Pakistan before any U.S. dollars go toward this sale.

But this vote is not about that. This vote is a vote about whether we believe that countries around the world are better off buying U.S. made materials or whether we think they should buy them from Russia or France. That is what this is about in its entirety.

We are seeking some behavior changes with Pakistan relative to how they are dealing with the Taliban, with how they are dealing with the Haqqani network. It is something that General Campbell, who has been in charge of Afghanistan from a military standpoint, has pushed for. We are working closely with our military and others to try to effect the behavior changes that are necessary for us to have an appropriate response in Afghanistan—but this is a foreign policy issue.

Again, everyone in this body, thankfully, is very concerned about our foreign policy. Foreign policy, I might say, sometimes has to have a degree of nuance to it. We are working with people and with relationships that matter. It matters deeply to the people who we have on the ground, the men and women in uniform in Afghanistan and other places. Our efforts around foreign policy are to do everything we can to ensure we are not utilizing men and women in uniform to solve a problem, because that happens when diplomacy fails.

So this is a very nuanced topic, and I can just say that the Senate deciding en bloc to block a sale to Pakistan of U.S.-made fighter jets is going to be a huge public embarrassment to the country of Pakistan, and there are better ways, in my opinion, for solving this problem. All of us want to see the behavior change, and I am privileged to be in a position to have some effect on the financing, as does Senator CARDIN, and we can deal with this issue in a more nuanced way.

I know some people will say that this is a great thing for back home. Our people back home will love this. Surely, surely, in this body when it comes to dealing with a country with nuclear arms and dealing with Afghanistan, where we have been for 14 years, how we deal with foreign policy will rise above just the immediate response and maybe misunderstandings even that people back home can have about this type of issue.

This relationship with Pakistan needs to move beyond the transactional way that it is carried out. I understand that. I understand that people are frustrated. But at the end of the day, our goal here as representatives of

the United States is to see through good things happening for our country. That is what foreign policy is about. It is about pursuing our national interests.

It is my strong belief that the Senate's voting today, in essence, to begin the process of denying Pakistan the ability to purchase U.S. fighter jets is not a way to engender things that are good for our own U.S. national interests. A better way is for us to continue to put pressure on them as we are doing at present, placing holds on financing until they do some things to change their behavior and work with us more fully relative to the Haqqani network, in particular, but also Al Qaeda and the Taliban.

So I would urge my fellow citizens and fellow Senators to please think about the long-term interests of our country, to think about when a country is radicalized and has so many problems as the country of Pakistan has, the public embarrassment that will take place by our body doing this. Let's work together in other ways that actually can generate behavior change by dealing with this in a more subtle way than this blunt object that we are dealing with today.

I want to close with this—and I know Senator CARDIN wants to speak, and I know he has a meeting to go to. What we are voting on, if we discharge this, is that we are voting on whether we would rather for Pakistan to purchase U.S.-made fighter jets, which carry with that at least 30 years of maintenance, meaning that every single year the United States would be involved with these fighter jets. We could withdraw that at any time if we thought their behavior continued to be such that we didn't want to support it. It can stop. It maintains our leverage with Pakistan over the longer haul. That is what our selling them these pieces of equipment does. It maintains our leverage over them.

Today, publicly embarrassing them and sending them to Russia or to France to buy fighter jets ends that leverage and humiliates them at a time when, in spite of the fact that we don't like some of the things they do, it in essence damages our ability to continue the negotiations that are taking place relative to trying to bring a more lasting peace in Afghanistan.

I thank you for the time, Madam President. I yield the floor for my good friend and ranking member on the Foreign Relations Committee, Senator CARDIN.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Maryland.

Mr. CARDIN. Thank you, Madam President.

I want to thank Senator CORKER. The two of us have worked on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee without any partisanship. These are foreign policy issues that require the Senate to work together, and I want to thank Senator CORKER for his leadership on

the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on this issue and on many other issues.

Let me first try to explain what we believe will happen in the next 45 minutes. Under the Arms Export Control Act, the sale of military armament to Pakistan requires the administration to give formal notification to the Congress. Prior to that formal notification, there is an informal process where the administration will inform the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and the House Foreign Affairs Committee that they intend to make a sale. They did that in regard to the F-16s for Pakistan, and that is the issue we are talking about.

For several months we have been in negotiations with the administration—as well as with stakeholders with regard to the sale of the F-16 to Pakistan—because quite frankly we did have concerns. We had concerns as to how it would impact the region, including India. We had concerns about Pakistan being a nuclear weapons state. We had concerns about Pakistan's efforts for counterinsurgency. We had concerns about Pakistan's participation in the peace process with Afghanistan. All of those are issues we were able to get some discussions on and we think some progress to the F-16 sale.

The administration formally notified Congress of the F-16 sale on February 25. At that time the bipartisan leadership of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and the House Foreign Affairs Committee had agreed the administration should go forward with the sale.

What we think will happen under the Arms Export Control Act—and any Member can offer a resolution of disapproval—is that Senator PAUL will be offering to bring up a resolution of this approval. We think that will take place in about 45 minutes. It is likely it will require a motion to proceed or to bring the motion forward, and it is possible the leader, the Republican leader, the majority leader, may offer a motion to table in regard to that motion.

I urge my colleagues to understand the next vote will be whether we are going to take up—or not—the resolution of disapproval.

Senator CORKER and I both urge our colleagues that this resolution not be approved, not be taken up; that we allow the sale to go forward but that we maintain our leverage, as Senator CORKER has explained, because there are many more issues involved before the sale becomes complete.

Quite frankly, the reason the F-16s are being recommended is because Pakistan needs the F-16s for their fight against counterinsurgency. I think all of my colleagues are aware of the mountainous terrain, territory that is in Pakistan on the Afghan border. Pakistan needs an air force capacity to deal with that counterinsurgency.

It is our military's judgment that these F-16s are important in regard to that fight against counterinsurgency;

that it is in our interests, U.S. interests; that it is in the regional interests, including the stability of its neighbor, India; and it is in the interests of dealing with the fight against the extremists.

As I said earlier, the relationship with Pakistan is complicated. We have several areas of major concern in that relationship, and we fully understand the reasons Members would be concerned. We are a strategic partner with Pakistan in rooting out terrorism. Let me remind my colleagues, the people of Pakistan have had 40,000 deaths as a result of extremist activities within their borders. That is an incredible sacrifice that has been made in their campaign against terrorists, against extremists. They have the Haqqani network, which we know has taken out American interests in that region, they had the fight against ISIS, and they had the fight against LeT, which is a terrorist organization within Pakistan that has committed terrorist attacks in India.

We want them to focus on all of these extremists. At times we don't get the full cooperation of Pakistan for these to be the priorities they go after. Obviously, we want to continue our partnership with Pakistan, but we want them to deal with the threat of the Haqqani network. We want them to focus on the threats of ISIS. We want them to concentrate on the destabilizing impact that LeT has on the relationship between Pakistan, India, and the cause of problems in India. We want to see more progress.

On the second front, on the nuclear phase, Pakistan is the fastest growing nuclear stockpile in the world. Our relationship with Pakistan is critically important for the certainty, safety, and security of the command and control network of their nuclear arsenal. Are they doing everything we want them to do in that regard? No. Have we made significant progress in the safety of their nuclear stockpile? Yes. Do we want to continue our relationship so we can continue to make progress? Absolutely.

The third area we need Pakistan's cooperation is in bringing together all the stakeholders for a peaceful discussion of the peace talks in Afghanistan. The extreme elements that are located in Pakistan need to be part of those discussions. Pakistan can play a critical role in helping that come about. Has Pakistan been helpful? Quite frankly, they have. They have been working with us to get all the stakeholders together in the talks. Could they do more? Yes, we think they could do more.

What Chairman CORKER said is absolutely accurate. We would encourage our colleagues to vote against the resolution of disapproval or to support our efforts to keep that off the floor, first and foremost because the F-16 are needed by Afghanistan and U.S. interests to fight the extremists, but just as important, it maintains the ability of the United States to deal with Paki-

stan to bring about further progress in all the areas I have talked about. As the chairman said, the worst-case scenario is that we break our relationship with Pakistan and other countries step in, and our ability to get changes in Pakistan's practices as they relate to support or fighting terrorist organizations or nuclear nonproliferation and participation in the Afghan peace talks could be marginalized.

In order to maintain the type of bipartisan, bilateral pressure on the problematic elements of the security sector, but while supporting reformers in the military and civilian governments, we urge our colleagues that it is important we take this sale to the next level.

The last point—and Chairman CORKER pointed this out—we are not signing off on the foreign military financing part. The administration has brought forward a proposal for some reprogramming of funds to help pay for the F-16 sale to Pakistan. In other words, we would use some of the monies we have already programmed for Afghanistan to be used to pay for the sale of the F-16s. That requires a signoff from the leadership of the two authorizing committees. Senator CORKER and I had not signed off on that—nor do we intend to sign off on that until we have further explanations on a lot of the issues Senator CORKER and I have already raised. We have ample ways of dealing with our bilateral relationship with Pakistan, allowing the sale formally to go forward by how the sale will be financed.

For all those reasons, I urge my colleagues to oppose Senator PAUL's resolution and allow us to continue the diplomatic path in regard to that region.

With that, I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mrs. ERNST). The Senator from Connecticut.

Mr. MURPHY. Madam President, I thank Senator CARDIN and Senator CORKER for how diligently they have worked over the course of the last several months, as both of them have stated on the floor, to make this sale much more palatable and to address many of the concerns that both the chairman and the ranking member had about the nature of the sale and this long history of conflict with the Pakistanis when it comes to our mutual concern of confronting terrorism.

The reason I come to the floor is because this body historically has had a history of deep engagement on questions of major arms sales, especially in regions as dangerous and as complicated as the Middle East. As it stands today, virtually the only two Members who are deeply and meaningfully engaged in the question of attaching conditions to these very important arms sales are the ranking member and the chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee. I trust their ability to hold the administration's feet to the fire—whether it be the Pakistanis', the Saudis', the Emirates' feet to the fire as they request weapons from the

United States, but this body writ large has to get back into the game of providing meaningful oversight on a radical and significant increase in the amount of arms sales the United States is providing to the rest of the world.

From 2011 to 2015, our arms exports have increased by 27 percent. When you compare these two periods, it is striking to note that during that period of time our arms sales to the Middle East have increased by 61 percent.

This Senate has, at its best moments, raised important questions about these sales. I bring you back to the 1980s, when the Senate raised important questions and concerns about the sale of AWACS to Saudi Arabia. On this side of the aisle, it was Senator BIDEN and Senator Kerry opposing those sales. Those motions of disapproval were ultimately unsuccessful, but through that process of deep congressional introspection, new conditions were placed on the sale of that technology to the Saudis that ended up a much better and safer deal for American national security interests and for the security of our partners in the region.

With respect to the specific sale of F-16 to Pakistan, my colleagues have already pointed out—and I think Senator PAUL will do a better job than I of pointing out—the ways in which our aims of fighting terrorism have been contradictory with the actions of the Pakistanis, whether it be their unwillingness to confront the Haqqani network, whether it be their oftentimes open coordination with elements of the Taliban that the United States is fighting inside Afghanistan. The Pakistanis have been an unreliable partner over the course of the last 10 years in the fight against extremism, but what I worry more about is that these F-16s will provide cover, will provide a substitute for truly meaningful action inside Pakistan to take on the roots of extremism. Frankly, it is too late in many respects to beat these extremist groups if they are so big, so powerful, so deadly that you have to bomb them from the air.

Today there are 20,000 madrassa, religious schools. Many, if not most, are funded by the Saudis, the Gulf States, and the Iranians and are often preaching an intolerant version of Islam that when perverted, forms the basis of the extremist groups the United States is fighting in the Middle East and throughout the world.

The Pakistanis have done little to nothing to try to reduce the influence of those madrassas, of those religious schools, and of the foreign funding that often breeds this intolerant version of religious teaching. In a sense, we let them off the hook by selling them new weapons systems that will, in effect, constantly force the Pakistanis to chase their own tail.

I think it is important to understand that the Pakistanis are not making the real meaningful contributions to rooting out extremism, and just handing

out weapon systems on the back end doesn't do the job.

I would point this body to the path forward. This is an incredibly important conversation that we are having with respect to the F-16s, but we have other pending military sales that will directly involve the United States in regional civil wars and conflicts, unbeknownst often to the American people.

One of them is a major military sales agreement with the Saudis that would eventually resupply them for their bombing campaign in Yemen, a campaign that has killed hundreds of thousands of civilians, that has stopped emergency relief from reaching those who have been the victims of this humanitarian disaster, and frankly that has created space for the expansion of ISIS and Al Qaeda, groups that want to do damage and attack the United States, inside the newly ungovernable territory of Yemen. Yet we are going to be confronted with another military sale to Saudi Arabia that would double down the U.S. commitment on one side of a civil war that if you look at the reality, doesn't seem to be advancing our national security interests. It doesn't seem to be helping us win the fight against ISIS and Al Qaeda.

I hope that after the break we will have the opportunity to discuss that military sale as well because it is time for Congress to get back into the game when it comes to our constitutional responsibility to oversee the foreign policy led by the executive branch. It is time for Congress to start having a meaningful impact when it comes to these massive arms sales that often undermine U.S. national security and come without the necessary conditions to change the reality of the decisions made in places such as Pakistan.

I am going to support Senator PAUL's resolution today, although I hope in the future we will approach these resolutions of disapproval with a slightly greater degree of subtlety in this respect. This is an outright disapproval. If we vote in favor of it, this sale will not go forward. There is another way. Congress could pass a motion of disapproval with conditions. We could disapprove of a sale to Pakistan pending, for instance, their commitment to join the fight against the Haqqani network; contingent upon, for instance, their movement to implement a law to shut down the worst and most intolerant of the madrassas. I would suggest that should be our path forward when it comes to the sale to the Saudis. Simple conditions could be applied to that resolution—making sure the munitions we are selling to the Saudis aren't used to target civilians inside Yemen; committing the Saudis to open up pathways of humanitarian relief and assistance; a promise that none of the funding from the United States to the partners in the coalition to fight the Houthis will be used to directly aid extremist groups. That is probably the better path forward for this body to take.

This is a very blunt instrument, a resolution of disapproval. I think it is

important for some of us to be on record supporting it to show that Congress is getting back in the game when it comes to overseeing this fairly substantial increase in arms sales to our named partners in the Middle East, but I think there is a better way forward. I hope that Senator PAUL and others, as we start to go about doing due diligence on future sales, will take a look at maybe a more meaningful contribution this body can take rather than expressing our outright unconditional disapproval. How can we make sure, if these arms sales go forward, that they go forward with conditions attached that are in the best interest of the United States and our partner nations?

Again, I thank Senators CORKER and CARDIN for their important work in the Foreign Relations Committee, of which I am a member, and I thank Senator PAUL for having the courage to bring this resolution to the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Virginia.

Mr. WARNER. Madam President, let me first of all thank my colleague from the State of Connecticut for his comments. I, too, will be joining him and others in supporting the resolution to be brought forward in some moments by Senator PAUL. I, too, agree that this is a rather blunt instrument. A more strategic use of bringing some leverage to this kind of action would be a more appropriate path, and I hope that in future times, when we have a chance to review foreign arms sales, we will take that more nuanced approach.

Madam President, while I approve of much of what the Senator from Connecticut has said, I want to speak to this issue from a slightly different perspective, and that is the message that at least inadvertently we will be sending with approval of the sale of these jets. And let me again commend Senator CORKER and Senator CARDIN for appropriately looking at the issue of public financing of these sales. If we move forward with these sales without putting some markers down, I think we potentially not only do damage to holding Pakistan's feet to the fire in terms of the threat of terrorists in Afghanistan and elsewhere in the region but also potentially do damage to one of the most important relationships our country has, and that is the strategic relationship between the United States and India. This relationship has been one of enormous, growing importance. India has been a valuable and strategic partner of the United States and is a tremendous ally in promoting global peace and security. That has not always been the case. Relations between our two nations have been steadily improving over the past decade, ranging from approval on the Civilian Nuclear Agreement, to frequent coordination between our militaries, and at this point over \$100 billion in bilateral trade. Prime Minister Modi in India has made a personal commitment to improving the ties between the United States and India. The Prime Minister

will come back to the United States at the end of this month.

Nowhere is the potential for our strategic relationship greater than in our bilateral defense relationship, which again has seen great progress over the past decade. Last year our two nations signed the framework that will advance military-to-military exchanges. We are also proceeding with joint development of defense technology, which seeks to increase defense sales and to create a cooperative technology and industrial relationship that can promote both capabilities in the United States and in India.

I viewed with some concern last month when the administration announced the sale of these eight F-16s to Pakistan. And again I want to commend the leadership of the Foreign Relations Committee for making very clear that even if this sale should go forward, the financing of this sale is still subject to further American review.

What brings me to wanting to support Senator PAUL's resolution is the fact that as recently as January of this year, Pakistani-based terrorists claimed responsibility for an attack against an Indian military base at Pathankot. The attack on this air force base, which resulted in the killing of Indian military forces, was a great tragedy. So far, Pakistan has refused to share intelligence or to turn over those suspects to the Indian Government.

With those kinds of actions, I cannot go ahead and continue this policy where we continue, in effect, to give Pakistan a pass, whether it is actions in the region vis-à-vis Afghanistan or within their own country but also in terms of their unwillingness to meet India even halfway in terms of trying to bring a greater stability to one of the regions that could potentially become a tinderbox in terms of the border regions between India and Pakistan.

So I will be supporting Senator PAUL's resolution. I hope the Government of Pakistan hears the concern of this Senator and other Senators. I hope they will act aggressively in terms of bringing justice to those terrorists who invaded Indian space and attacked the Indian Air Force base. Showing that kind of responsible behavior might lead to at least this Senator taking a different view in terms of future military sales.

With that, I yield the floor, and I recognize my colleague, who I believe will bring this resolution to the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Kentucky.

MOTION TO DISCHARGE—S.J. RES.

31

Mr. PAUL. Madam President, pursuant to the Arms Export Control Act of 1976, I move to discharge the Committee on Foreign Relations from further consideration of S.J. Res. 31, re-

lating to the disapproval of the proposed foreign military sale to the Government of Pakistan.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The motion is debatable for up to 1 hour.

Mr. PAUL. Madam President, I rise in opposition to the American taxpayers being forced to pay for fighter jets for Pakistan. Over \$300 million from the American taxpayers will be designated to go to Pakistan to pay for eight new F-16s for Pakistan. We have a lot of problems here in our country, my friends. We have a lot of things going on in our country that need to be taken care of, and we don't have enough money to be sending it to Pakistan. I can't in good conscience look away as America crumbles at home and politicians tax us to send the money to corrupt and duplicitous regimes abroad.

When I travel across Kentucky and I see the look of despair in the eyes of out-of-work coal miners, when I see the anguish in the faces of those who live in constant poverty, I wonder why the establishment of both parties continues to send our money overseas to countries that take our money, take our arms, and laugh in our faces.

We have given \$15 billion to Pakistan—\$15 billion over the last decade—yet their previous President admits that Pakistan armed, aided, and abetted the Taliban. You remember the Taliban in Afghanistan that harbored and hosted bin Laden for a decade? Pakistan helped them. Pakistan was one of only two countries that recognized the Taliban. Why in the world would we be taxing the American people to send this money to Pakistan?

Remember when bin Laden escaped? We chased him and he escaped. Where did he go? To Pakistan. He lived for a decade in Pakistan. Where? About a mile away from their military academy. Somehow they missed him. There in a 15-foot-high walled compound, bin Laden stayed in Pakistan while we funneled billions upon billions of dollars to them.

Pakistan to this day is said to look away, to not look at the Haqqani network. In fact, it is accused that many members of their government are complicit with the Haqqani network. Who is the Haqqani network? It is a network of terrorists who kill Americans. We have American soldiers dying at the hands of Pakistani terrorists while that government looks the other way.

GEN John F. Campbell testified before Congress that the Haqqani network remains the most capable threat to U.S. forces in Afghanistan. Yet we are asked to send F-16s and good money after bad to a government in Pakistan that looks the other way.

Pakistan is, at best, a frenemy—part friend and a lot enemy. If Pakistan truly wants to be our ally, if Pakistan truly wants to help in the war on radical Islam, it should not require a bribe; it should not require the American taxpayer to subsidize arms sales.

They already have 70 F-16s. They have an air force of F-16s. What would happen if we didn't send them eight more that we are being asked to pay for? Maybe they would listen. Maybe they would help us. Maybe they would be an honest broker in the fight against terrorism.

We are \$19 trillion in debt. We borrow \$1 million a minute. We don't have any money to send to Pakistan to bribe them to buy planes from us. We don't have the money. We have problems at home. Our infrastructure crumbles at home. We have longstanding poverty at home. We have problems in America, and we can't afford to borrow the money from China to send it to Pakistan.

In my State, in Kentucky, we have a dozen counties with unemployment nearly double the national rate. In Magoffin County, KY, 12.5 percent of people are out of work. Today, those who will vote to send money to Pakistan need to come with me to Kentucky. They need to come to Magoffin County, and they need to look people in the face who are out of work in America and explain to them why we should send money to Pakistan. We have people hurting here at home.

In Harlan, the President's war on coal has led to longstanding double-digit unemployment. In Harlan, KY, people are out of work. People live in poverty, and they don't understand why Congress is sending money to Pakistan.

In Leslie County, high unemployment prompts their citizens to ask: Why? Why is the government spending billions of dollars for advanced fighter jets for foreigners? They don't understand it. They can't understand, when they live from day to day, why their government is sending money to Pakistan.

As I travel around Kentucky, I ask my constituents: Should America send money and arms to a country that persecutes Christians? I have yet to meet a single voter who wants their tax dollars going to countries that persecute Christians.

In Pakistan, it is the law; it is in their Constitution that if you criticize the state religion, you can be put to death. Asia Bibi has been on death row for nearly 5 years. Asia Bibi is a Christian. Her crime? She went to the well to draw water, and the villagers began to stone her. They beat her with sticks until she was bleeding. They continued to stone her as they chanted "Death, death to the Christian."

The police finally arrived, and she thought she had been saved, only to be arrested by the Pakistani police. There she sits on death row for 5 years. Is it an ally? Is it a civilized nation that puts Christians to death for criticizing the state religion? I defy any Member of this body to go home and talk to the first voter. Go outside the Beltway. Leave Congress and drive outside the Beltway and stop at the first gas station or stop at the first grocery store